

## Раздел 4

# ЕС И ПРОЕКТ БОЛЬШОЙ ЕВРАЗИИ

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### **От антиатлантизма — к Большой Евразии: место Европы в новом российском евразийстве**

Рассматривается эволюция восприятия Европы в евразийском мышлении от классического до неоевразийского; анализируется концепция Большой Евразии в рамках современного евразийского мышления.

**К л ю ч е в ы е с л о в а:** классическое евразийство; неоевразийство; Россия; Европа; Большая Евразия.

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### **From Anti-Atlanticism to Greater Eurasia: the Place of Europe in the New Russian Eurasianism**

This article examines the evolution of the perception of Europe in Eurasianist thought from 'classical' to 'neo' Eurasianism, and analyses the concept of Greater Eurasia within the frame of contemporary Eurasianist thinking.

**Key words:** Classical Eurasianism; Neo-Eurasianism; Russia; Europe; Greater Eurasia.

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Eurasianists define Russia in terms of its fundamental distinctions from the West. However, the main characteristics, components and even the geographical location of the West are perceived in different ways by various Eurasianist intellectuals. These differences can be traced both at individual and periodical levels. When the Eurasianist intellectual movement emerged in the 1920s among the Russian emigres in Europe, those first Eurasianists, named as classical Eurasianists, adopted an anti-Western rhetoric, by simply perceiving the West as mainly Western Europe. The distinction and opposition between the Western European and the Russian/Eurasian civilizations were at the main foundation of their thinking. For classical Eurasianists, Russia is an Asian/Eurasian country and should be closer to Asia than to Europe. Their stance against the Europe was mainly on civilizational basis and they were against the West as a whole: Western individualism, materialism and all Western ways of economic, social and political development of humanity. Contrary to these Western values, they championed Russian/Eastern way of social collectivity, spirituality and tolerance. According to classical Eurasianists, Russia should disengage from Europe as much as possible, and develop its own Eurasian civilization as an alternative to Europe [1].

At the beginning of 1990s, Eurasianist thought came forward again as part of the identity search efforts for the new Russian state. This neo-Eurasianist movement of post-Soviet era represents both continuity and divergence elements regarding the classical Eurasianist thought. Some of the neo-Eurasianist thinkers, like Panarin, shares many similarities with the classical Eurasianists, especially in terms of his more philosophical and civilization based writings. However, the best-known and most prolific neo-Eurasianist thinker Aleksander Dugin shares more dissonances than similarities with classical Eurasianists, despite his claims that there is continuity between him and the classical Eurasianists. One of the main divergences of Dugin's thoughts from the classical Eurasianists is his approach to West and Europe. Unlike classical Eurasianists, he identifies West in terms of not civilizational or ideational but geopolitical principles. He does not consider West as a single unity, and distinguishes Europe from the USA. According to him, now the main enemy of Russia is not the European civilization or the West as a whole, but the American po-

litical, economic and social imperialism and unipolarity. The main goal of Eurasianism is to create a common platform for the world to resist against Atlanticism. To struggle against American policies, seeking to establish and maintain a US centered, post-cold war unipolar international system, Russia should ally with any actor including European states, especially like France and Germany. In accordance with that, in some of his writings he mentions about the Moscow — Berlin — Paris axis [1].

Dugin's Eurasianism is a global geopolitical project, and the boundaries of his Eurasia transcend the geographical and civilizational boundaries of classical Eurasianists' Eurasia. Moreover, differently from the classical Eurasianist, his geopolitical notion of Eurasia might include Europe. It is not an anti-European, but an anti-Atlantic projection. Although Dugin can be criticized and even ignored for his radical, ambiguous and inconstant thoughts, still it is worth to refer him, due to the fact that he represents a significant shift from the anti-European approach of classical Eurasianists. Indeed, in the post-cold war era, in the absence of strict ideological and institutional framework of cold war period, Russia would develop more intense relations with European states as a historically European country.

In accordance with these new realities of contemporary international system, a third group of Eurasianist intellectuals, emerged in the contemporary Russia, who adopt a more realistic and coherent way of thinking. In fact, these scholars, with most prominent figures like Sergey Karaganov [3], Timofey Bordachev [4] and Alexander Lukin [5], cannot be literally considered as Eurasianist, but they are proponents of Russia's eastward shift and adoption of Eurasian identity. They can be best identified as Eurasianist wing of statist. In general they advocate economic integration of post-Soviet states under the institutional framework of Eurasian Economic Union and Russia's economic push towards emerging Asian markets. Close relations with growing Asian economies would help Russia in attracting investment and high technology for the development of Russian Far East, and also would provide new markets for Russian exports, especially for the Russian defense industry. The Great Eurasian project, which was initially declared by Vladimir Putin at the beginning of 2010s by aiming to integrate European and Asian economic spaces,

shifted its priorities from West to Eastern partnership after Russia — EU relations deteriorated in the wake of Ukrainian crisis and Russia's annexation of Crimea. Since the year 2015, the realization of the Great Eurasian partnership on the basis of cooperation between two main organizations — the Eurasian Economic Union and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization has been the main issue of the Eurasianist agenda.

Although statist Eurasianists advocate Russia's eastward shift, they do not share a fundamentally hostile approach to Europe. In essence, they consider Russia as a historically European state. For Karaganov, Russia is the country who extended Europe to the Pacific Ocean in the 19<sup>th</sup> century [3]. Russia is not the periphery country of Europe but an Atlantic-Pacific power which would be the center for integration between Asia and Europe. For them, Russia is too big to make a choice between West and Asia; it should sustain relationship with both and should not take any side in a possible future rivalry between them. They argue that close relations with emerging economies of Asia would make Russia more attractive partner for Europe. Differently from the pro-Western liberal Russian elites of early post-Soviet era, they do not presuppose that the West is the center of 'the civilized world' and Russia should fully integrate into the European Union. They advocate a flexible Russian-European partnership without binding commitments. They support to establish direct relations between European Union and the Eurasian Economic Union, and they complain that EU didn't recognize EEU so far. For them, Russia and European states can address problems such as immigration, terrorism, religious extremism and economic inequality only together within the framework of Great Eurasian partnership.

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### **Исламский фактор в рамках концепции «Большой Евразии»: политико-демографические аспекты**

Проект «Большой Евразии» представляет собой попытку объединить в рамках единого пространства территории, относящиеся к разным цивилизациям. Важную роль в этом пространстве будет играть исламская цивилизация, которая обладает специфическими демографическими характеристиками, поэтому определение возможных социально-политических последствий участия ее стран в реализации этого проекта можно считать важной задачей.

**К л ю ч е в ы е   с л о в а :** Большая Евразия; ислам; интеграция; демография.

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### **The Islamic Factor of the “Great Eurasia” Project: the Aspects of Political Demography**

The project of “Great Eurasia” represents attempt to unite within uniform space of the territory, belonging to different civilizations. An important role in this space will be played by an Islamic civilization which has the specific